A BATTLE OF THE GIANTS.

The North American Review Presents the Views of the Two Statesmen on Free Trade and Protection-Keen Encounter of Two Great Intellects.

The North American Review for January presents two papers that have attracted the attention of the civilized world. With extraordinary and most commendable enter prise Gen. Bryce, the editor, secured from Mr. Gladstone an expression of his views on the long debated issue of Protection vs. Free Trade impressed by its ability, he then secured a reply by Secretary Blaine; and Mr. Gladstone most courteously consented to their simultaneous publication, the secretary to have the privilege of examining the British statesman's paper. As will readily be seen, this gives Mr. Blaine some advantage, but the argument on both sides is indeed able The following extracts give only the most salient points.

MR. GLADSTONE'S VIEWS.

The existing difference of practice between America and Britain with respect to free trade and protection of necessity gives rise to a kind of international controversy on their respective merits. To interfere from across the water in such a controversy is an act which may wear the appearance of im-

The constant tenor of the argument is this. high wages by protection, low wages by free trade It is even as the recurring burden of a song And I can state with truth that I have heard this very same melody before; nay that I am familiar with it. It comes to us now with a pleasant novelty; but once upon a time we British folk were surfeited, very almost borred to death, with it. It is simply the old song of our squires, which they sang with perfect assurance to defend the corn laws Protectionists terrify the American workman by threetening him with the wages of his British comrade, precisely as the English landlord coaxed our rural laberers, when we used to get our best wheats from Dantzig, by exhibiting the starvation wages of the Polish peasant.

These arguments were made among us, in the alleged interest of labor and of capital, just as they are now employed by you; for America may at present be said to diet on the cast off reasonings of English protec-

But we broke down every protective wall and "flooded the country" (so the phrase then runs with the corn and the commodities of the whole world; with the corn of America first and foremost. But did our rate of wages thereupon sink to the level of the continents No; it rose steadily and rapidly to a point higher than it had been ever GREAT GAINS OF THE BRITISH WORKMAN.

Mr Giffen, of the board of trade, whose careful disquisitions are known to command the public confidence, supplies us with tables which compare the wages of 1833 with those of 1883 in such a way as to speak for the principal branches of industry. The wages of miners, we learn, have increased in Staffordshire (which almost certainly is the mining In the great exportable manufactures of Bradford and Huddersfield the lowest augmentations are 20 and 30 per cent., and in other branches they rise to 50, 83, 100, and even to 150 and 160 per cent. The quasidomestic trades of carpenters, bricklayers and masons in the great marts of Glasgow and Manchester show a mean increase of 63 per cent. for the first, 65 per cent. for the second and 47 per cent, for the third. The lowest weekly wage named for an adult is twenty-two shillings (as against seventeen shillings in 1833), and the highest thirty-six shillings But it is the relative rate with which we have to do, and, as the American writer appears to contemplate with a peculiar dread the effect of free trade upon shipping, I further quote Mr. Giffen on the monthly wages of seamen in 1833 and 1883 in Bristol. Glasgow, Liverpool and London. The percentage of increase, since we have passed from the protective system of the navigation law into free trade, is in Bristol 66 per cent., in Glasgow 55 per cent., in Liverpool for different classes from 25 per cent, to 70 The cent., and in London from 45 per cent. to r cent No such return, at once exact

I comprehensive, can be supplied in the case of the rural workman. But here the facts are notorious. We are assured that thete has been an universal rise (somewhatstanded I fear, by the recent agricultural r -) which Caird and other authorities Together with this inthrese or pay there has been a general diminuto of the hours of work, which Mr. Giffen es at the fifth. If we make this correcupon the comparative table, we shall of that the cases are very few in which the therement does not range as high as from 50

and towards 100 per cent. Within the same period the prices of the main articles of popular consumption have certainly declined. The laborer's charges, except for his abode, have actually diminished as a whole For his larger house rent he has a better house. To the government he pays much less than he did, and from the government be gets much more, and "the increase of his money wages corresponds to a real gain ' If it be said that the tale I have told is insufficient, and that wages ought still to rise, this may be so, and rise I hope they will, but protection had no such tale to tell at all. For the working population at large it meant staguat on, depression, in many cases actual rad daily hunger and thirst, in some unquestionable and even gross degradation.

GREAT WASTE OF PROTECTION. International commerce is based, not mon arbitrary or fanciful considerations, but upon the unequal distribution among men and regions of aptitudes to produce the several commodities which are necessary or useful for the sustenance, comfort and advantage of human The argument of the free trader is that the

may require it, with this natural law of dis-

All interference with it by a government production at home, in preference to a cheaper method of production abroad, may fairly be termed artificial. And every such interference means simply a diminution of the national wealth. If region A grows corn at home for fifty shillings which region B can supply at forty, and region B manufactures cloth at twenty shillings with which region A can supply at fifteen, the national wealth of each is diminished by the ten and five shillings respectively So much for the waste unavoidably attach-

ing to dearness of production. But there are other and yet worse descriptions of waste, as to writen I know not whether America suf-

fers greatly from them, but I know that in this country we suffered from them grievously under the sway of protection. When the barrier erected by a protective duty is | yield. so high that no foreigner can overleap it, not only to charge a high price, but to force on the consumer a bad article. Thus, with an extravagant duty on foreign corks, we had for our own use the worst corks in Europe. And yet again, protection causes waste of another kind in a large class of cases, Suppose the natural disadvantages of the protective duty to be 30. But cheapness requires minute care, economy and dispatch at all the stages through which production has to pass. This minute care and thrift depend mainly on the pressure of competition. There were among us, and there may be elsewhere, many producers whom indolence tempts to resist this inertia by the attraction of raising profit to a maximum, for whom the prospect of necessity, and whom nothing can spur to a due nimbleness of movement except the fear of not being able to sell their articles. In the case I have supposed, the second 15 per cent. is a free margin whereupon this indolence may disport itself; the home producer is not only covered for what he wastes from negligence or choice; and his fellow countrymen have to pay alike for both. We suffered grievously from this in England, for oftentimes the rule of the producer is, or well only as he must. And happy are you if, conscience in production, you have no similar suffering in America.

There is yet another point which I cannot pass without notice. I have not admitted that protection keeps at home any capital which would otherwise go abroad. But I now for the moment accept and reason upon the assumption that this is effected. And I ask-indeed, by the force of argument I may almost require-you to make an admission to me which is of the most serious character, namely, this: that there is a great deal of capital undoubtedly kept at home by protection, not for the purpose of dear production, which is partial waste, but for another kind of waste, which is sheer and absolute and totally uncompensated. This is the waste incurred in the great work of distributing commodities. If the price of iron or of cotton gloth is increased 50 per cent, by protection, then the capital required by every wholesale and every retail distributor must be increased ; the benefit we have received. But it is a

ot and cannot be, in his auxiliary and essenluty, any more than can the scavenger or the chimney sweep. The import duty adds to the rate of profit which he receives, and ae gives. This forced increment of capital work in the imcovered field of open trade. It the waste of the extra capital required in disribution is a waste of 100 per cent, on the ost of the operation; for it accomplishes abdutely nothing on behalf of the community hich would not be accomplished equally if a commodity were 50 per cent, less in price; illing performs no better or other service cholesale and retail tradesmen of a country, with more capital what could be done as well | American laborer?

PROTECTION CANNOT WORK IMPARTIALLY. But the view of the genuine protectionist I inderstand to be that protection is a mine f wealth; that a greater aggregate profit reults from what you would call keeping labor and capital at home than from letting them seek employment wherever in the whole world they can find it most economically. But if there be this inborn fertility in the principle itself, why are the several states of ne Union precluded from applying it within heir own respective borders? If the aggrerate would be made richer by this internal pplication of protection to the parts, why is not so applied? On the other hand, if the nade not richer, but poorer, through the inor erence with the natural laws of producion, then how is it that by similar interfernce the aggregate of the states, the great ommonwealth of America, can be made, in ts general balance sheet, not poorer, but

But, in America, besides the jealously paliaded field of dear production, there is a vast open expanse of cheap production, namely, n the whole mass (to speak roughly) of the agricultural products of the country, not to nention such gifts of the earth as its mineral oils. In raising these the American capitalist viil find the demand of the world unexhausted, however he may increase the supply. Why, hen, is he to carry his capital abroad when here is profitable employment for it at home? If protection is necessary to keep American capital at home why is not the vast capital now sustaining your domestic agriculture, and nising commodities for sale at free trade prices, exported to other countries? Or, conversely, since vast capitals find an unlimited ield for employment in cheap domestic proluction without protection, why is it demontrated that protection is not required in or ier to keep your capital at home? No adversary will, I think, venture upon

inswering this by saving that the profits are arger in protected than in unprotected inustries, because the best opinions seem to estify that in your protected trades profits re hard pressed by wages.

My claim is this: A country cannot possibly raise its aggregate wage fund by protection t must inevitably reduce it. It is a con rivance for producing dear and for selling lear, under cover of a wall or fence which shuts out the cheaper foreign article, or handicaps it on admission by the imposition of a heavy fine. Yet I may for the moment allow it to be possible that, in some particular trade or trades, wages may be raised (at the expense of the community) in consequence of protection. There was a time when America uilt ships for Great Britain, namely, before he American revolution. She now impose heavy duties to prevent our building ship or her Even my own recollection goes back to the period, between sixty and seventy years ago, when by far the most, and also the best, part of trade between us was carried n American bottoms. IT MAY RAISE WAGES IN ONE TRADE.

If the labor market, although open to the world, is insufficiently supplied, then the wage earner may possibly, in a given case, come in or a share of the monopoly price of ships If the hand work be one requiring a long ap prenticeship (so to call it), and thereby imeding the access of domestic competitors. his will augment his share. Then why not

the like, some one will ask, in all cases? Because the community in the given case pays the price of the monopoly-that is to say, throws the price to waste, and because, while a trader in a multitude of commodities may lose upon one of them, and vet may have a good balance sheet upon the whole, he must not and cannot lose upon them all without easing to be a trader; and a nation, with repect to its aggregate of production, is as a ole trader. Without, then, absolutely denying it to be

ossible that in some isolated and exceptional ses there may be a relation between protecon (and all protection, so far as it goes, is onopoly) and high wages, I contend that to efer generally the high rate of wages in the Inited States to this cause would be nothing ss than preposterous.

"How, then, is it that America, which, as ou say, makes enormous waste by protection, nevertheless outstrips all other countries in the rapid accumulation of her wealth?' My general answer is that the case is like that of an individual who, with wasteul expenditure, has a vast fortune, such as o leave him a large excess of receipts. Let me observe, first, that America proluces an enormous mass of cotton, cereals, meat and other commodities, which is sold

in the unsheltered market of the world at such prices as it will yield. The producers are fined for the benefit of the protected interests, and receive nothing in return; but they obtain for their country, as well as for the world, the whole advantage of a vast natural trade-that is to say, a trade in which production is carried on at a minimum cost in capital and labor as compared with what the rest of the world can do. America invites and obtains in a remarkable degree legislator ought never to interfere, or only to from all the world one of the great elements interfere so far as imperative fixed necessity of production, without tax of any kindnamely, capital. While securing to the captalist producer a monopoly in the protected trades, she allows all the world to do its in order to encourage some dearer method of | best, by a free immigration, to prevent any corresponding monopoly in the class of work men. She draws upon a bank of natural re sources so vast that it easily bears those de ductions of improvidence which simply pre vent the results from being vaster still.

WHY AMERICA IS PROSPEROUS. Let me now mention some at least among thuse elements of the unrivailed national strength of America which explain to us why she is not ruined by the huge waste of the protective system. And first of these I place the immense extent and vastness of her territory. She carries on the business of domestic exchanges on a scale such as mankind has never seen. Of all the staple products of hu man industry and care, how few are there which, in one or another of her countless regions, the soil of America would refuse to

Apart from this wide variety, I suppose that duty enables the home manufacturer | there is no other country of the whole earth in which, if we combine together the surface and that which is below the surface, nature has been so bountiful to man. Now, this vast aggregate superiority of purely natural wealth is simply equivalent to the gift, say, of a queen in a game of chess, with this difference-that America could hold her own home producer to equal 15 per cent,, but the against all comers without the queen. By protection she makes a bad move, which helps us to make fight, and ties a heavy clog upon her feet, so that the most timid among us need not now to greatly dread her competition in the international trade of the world.

Again, the international position of America may, in a certain light, be illustrated by neglect; who are not sufficiently drawn to comparing together the economical conditions under which coal has been produced in the different districts of this island. The of advantage is not enough without the sense royalty upon coal represents that surplus over and above estimated trading profit from a mine which the lessee can afford to pay the landlord. In England, generally, royalties have varied from about sixpence a ton to ninepence in a few cases; scarcely ever higher. But in Staffordshire, owing to the existence of a remarkable coal measure, called the tenthrough necessity, but for what he wastes yard coal, and to the presence of ironstone abundantly interstratified with the coal, the royalty has often amounted to no less than three shillings. This excess has a real analogy to the surplus bounty of Mother Earth in was, to produce not as well as he can, but as America. And when I see her abating somewhat of her vast advantages through the through keener energy or more troublesome trick of protection, I am reminded of the curious fact that this unusual abundance of the mineral made the getting of it in Staffordshire singularly wasteful, and that fractions, and no small fractions, of the tenvard coal are now irrecoverably buried in the earth, like the tribute which America has

> been paying to her protected interests. BRITISH FREEDOM HELPS AMERICA. Trade is, in one respect at least, like mercy. It cannot be carried on without conferring a double benefit. Again, trade cannot be increased without increasing this benefit, and increasing it (in the long run) on both sides alike. Freedom has enormously extended our trade with the countries of the world, and, above all others, with the United States. It follows that they have derived immense benefit, that their waste has been greatly repaired, their accumulations largely augmented through British legislation. We legislated for our own advantage, and are satisfied with

the material developfally domestic work, protected by an import the day America, cannot be lost sight of. in no country, I suppose, has there been so at all a cultivation of the inventive faculty, o the price he pays, and consequently to the and in America the scarcity of labor has, irculating capital which he requires in order in truth, supplied the great republic with o carry on this traffic; but it adds nothing an esential element of severe and salutary discipline. Thus it has come about that a anothing whatever to the employment which race collued with consummate ability for

labor has also become the richest of all races ets in motion no labor, and is compelled to in instruments for dispensing with labor. It is thus obvious enough that a remarkas not the prima face apology (such as that able faculty and babit of invention, which spology may be; which the iron maker or the goes direct to cheapness, helps to fill up that nill owner may make, that he is employing gap in your productive results which is American labor which would not otherwise created by the wastefulness of protection. be employed. If the waste under a protective | The leakage in the national cistern is more luty of 50 per cent, be a waste of 50 per cent., | than compensated by the efficiency of the

pumps that supply it. America makes no scruples, then, to cheapen everything in which labor is concerned, because this is the road to national wealth. Therefore, she has no mercy upon labor, but displaces it right and left. Yet when we ust as the postman distributing letters at a come to the case where capital is most in question, she enables her ship builders, her han the postman distributing letters at a | iron masters and her mill owners to charge enny But of distributors the name is double or semi-double prices; which, if her egion; they constitute the vast army of the | practice as to labor saving be right, must be the road to national poverty. E converso, with all the wants appertaining to them. As | if she be right in shutting out foreign ships on-unners, they are taxed on all protected and goods to raise the receipts of the Ameriammodities; as the allies of producers in the | can capitalist, why does she not tax the reapsusiness of distributing, they are forced to do ing machine to raise the receipts of the

ENGLAND NOT YET FREE ENOUGH. I have still to notice one remaining point. I do not doubt that production is much cheapened in America by the absence of all kinds of class legislation except that which is termed protection; an instance alike vicious and gigantic, but still an instance only. In our British legislation, the interest of the individual or the class still rather largely prevails against that of the public. In America, as I understand the matter, the public obtains full and equal justice. I take for example the case of the railroads; that vast creation, one of almost universal good tomankind, now approaching to one-tenth or one-twelfth of our entire national possessions. ountry, as a whole, would by this device be It is believed that in unnecessary parliamentary expenditure, and in abnormal prices paid for land, the rallways of this country were taxed to between fifty and hundred millions sterling beyond the natural cost of their creation. Thus does the spirit of protection, only shifting its form, still go ravening about among us. Nothing is so common here as to receive compensation, and we get it not only for injuries, but for benefits. But while the great nation of the Union rightly rejoices in her freedom from our superstitions, why should she desire, create and worship

> new superstitions of her own? THE MORAL ASPECT OF THE SUBJECT. I urge, also, that all protection is morally as well as economically bad. This is a very different thing from saying that all protec-

tionists are bad. I have seen and known, and had the opportunity of comparing, the temper and frame of mind engendered first by our protectionism, which we now look back upon as servitude, and then by the commercial freedom and equality which we have enjoyed for the last thirty or forty years. The one tended to harden into positive selfishness; the other has done much to foster a more liberal tone of

The American love of freedom will, beyond all doubt, be to some extent qualified, perhaps in some cases impaired, by the subtle influence of gold, aggregated by many hands in vaster masses than have yet been known. How will the majestic figure, about to become the most powerful on the stage of the world's history, make use of his power? Will | dom was in round numbers 29,000,000. At

its material strength! May Heaven avert every darker omen, and grant that the latest and largest growth of the great Christian civilization shall also be the brightest and the best! W. E. GLADSTONE.

MR. BLAINE REPLIES.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Gladstone is the most distinguished representative of the free trade school of political economists, He apolgizes for his apparent interference with our affairs. He may be assured that apology is superfluous. Americans of all classes hold him in honor. Free trade he believes advantageous for England; therefore, without the allowance of any modifying condition, great or small, the English economist declares it to be advantageous for the United States, for Brazil, for Australia; in short, for all countries with which England can establish trade relations. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for Mr. Gladstone to find any principle of administration or any measure of finance so exactly fitted to the varying needs of all countries as he assumes the policy of free trade to be.

The American prosectionist, let it not be discourteous to urge, is broader in his views than the English free trader. No intelligent protectionist in the United States pretends that every country would alike realize advantage from the adoption of the protective system. Great Britain and the United States certainly resemble one another in more ways than either can be said to resem ble any other nation in the world; yet, when we compare the two on the question at issue, the differences are so marked that we almost lose sight of the resemblance.

THE TWO NATIONS CONTRASTED. Great Britain is an island less than ninety thousand square miles in extent. Its life depends upon its connection with other countries. Its prosperity rests upon its commerce with the world. On the other hand, a single state of the Union is nearly three times as large as Great Britain. Several other states are each quite equal to it in area. The whole Union is well nigh forty times as large. With these fundamental points of difference

between the two countries, I assume that varied financial and industrial systems, wrought by the experience of each, would be the natural and logic result. Hence I do not join issue with Mr. Gladstone on both of his propositions. He defends free trade in Great Britain. He assails protection in the United States. The first proposition I neither deny

On many points and in many respects it was far different with Great Britain a hundred years ago. She did not then feel assured that she could bear the competition of Continental nations. She was, therefore, aggressively, even cruelly, protective. She manufactured for herself and for her net work of colonies reaching around the globe. Into those colonies no other nation could carry anything. There was no scale of duty upon which other nations could enter a colonial port. What the colonies needed outside of British products could be furnished to them only in British ships.

WAS GREAT BRITAIN MERELY SELFISH? During the last thirty years of her protective system, and especially during the twenty years from 1826 to 1846, Great Britain increased her material wealth beyond all precedent in the commercial history of the world. Finally, with a vast capital accumulated, with a low rate of interest established and with a manufacturing power unequaled, the British merchants were ready to underbid all rivals in seeking for the trade of

At that moment Great Britain had reason to feel supremely content. The traffic of the world seemed prospectively in her control Could this condition of trade have continued. no estimate of the growth of England's

wealth would be possible. But England was dealing with an intelligence equal to her own. The American people had, by repeated experience, learned that the periods of depression in home manufactures were those in which England most propered in her commercial relations with the United States, and that these periods of depression had, with a single exception, easily explained, followed the enactment by congress of a free trade tariff, as certainly as effect follows cause. One of the most suggestive experiments of that kind had its origin in the tariff to which I have just referred, passed in 1846 in apparent harmony with England's newly declared financial policy. At that moment a southern president (Mr. Polk) and a southern secretary of the treasury (Mr. Robert J. Walker) were far more interested in expanding the area of slave territory than in advancing home manufactures, and were especially eager to make commercial exchanges with Europe on the somewhat difficult basis of cotton at high prices and return

ing fabrics at low prices. Under ordinary circumstances the free trade tariff of 1846 would have promptly fallen under popular reprobation and been doomed to speedy repeal. But it had a singular history and for a time was generally acquiesced in, even attaining in many sections a certain degree of popularity. Never did any other tariff meet with so many and so great aids of an adventitious character to sustain it as did this enactment of 1846; California's gold, our war with Mexico and the Crimean war. The export of manufactures from England and France was checked; the breadstuffs of Russia were blockaded and could not reach the markets of the world. An extraordinary stimulus was thus given to all forms of trade in the United States. For ten years-1846 to 1856—these adventitious aids came in regular succession and exerted their powerful influence upon the prosperity of the country.

The withdrawal or termination of these influences, by a treaty of peace in Europe and by the surcease of gold from California, brought a widespread financial panic, which involved the ruin of thousands, including proportionately as many in the south as in

AMERICA HAS HAD AMPLE EXPERIENCE The American people had twice before passed through a similar experience. On the eve of the war of 1812, congress guarded the national strength by enacting a highly protective tariff. By its own terms this

the same proportion. The distribute is that good a fact of no small dimensions, tariff must end with the war. When the new tariff was to be formed, a popular cry arose against "war duties," though the country had prospered under them despite the exhausting effect of the struggle with Great But the prayer of the people was answered, and the war duties were dropped fro.n the tariff of 1816. The business of the country was speedily prostrated. The people were soon reduced to as great distress as in that melancholy period between the close of the Revolutionary war and the organiza-

tion of the national government-1783 to Relief came at last with the enactment of the protective tariff of 1824, to the support of which leading men of both parties patriotically united for the common good. That act, supplemented by the act of 1828, brought

genuine prosperity to the country. Sectional jealousy and partisan zeal could not endure the great development of manufactures in the north and east which followed the apparently firm establishment of the protective policy Out of this strange complication came the sacrifice of the protective tariff of 1824-28 and the substitution of the compromise tariff of 1833, which established an ad valorem duty of 20 per cent. on all imports, and reduced the excess over that by a 10 per cent, annual sliding scale for the ensuing ten

The apprehension of evil soon became general, public confidence was shaken, the panic rapid, general and devastating. There was tariff of 1842 was enacted; and then the beneficent experience of 1834 was repeated on even a more extensive scale. Prosperity, wide and general, was at once restorel During this long period free trade tariffs were thrice followed by industrial stagnation, by financial embarrassment, by distress among all classes dependent for subsistence upon their own labor. Thrice were these burdens removed by the enactment of a protective tariff. Thrice the protective tariff promptly led to industrial activity, to financial ease, to prosperity among the people. It is true that a financial panic occurred in 1873, and its existence would blunt the force of my argument if there were not an impera-

tively truthful way of accounting for it as a distinct result from entirely distinct causes The civil war, which closed in 1865, had sac rificed on both sides a vast amount of prop-Reckoning the money directly expended, the value of property destroyed and the production arrested and prevented, the total is estimated at \$9 000,000,000. AMERICA'S GROWTH SINCE 1860.

Notwithstanding the evil prophecies on both sides, the panic did not come until eight and a half years after the firing of the last gun in the civil war. Nor did it come until after two great calamities in the years immediately preceding had caused the expenditure of more than \$200,000,000, suddenly withdrawn from the ordinary channels of ousiness. The rapid and extensive rebuilding in Chicago and Boston after the destructive fires of 1871 and 1872 had a closer connection with the panic of 1873 than is commonly thought. Still further, the six years' depression, from 1873 to 1879, involved individual suffering rather than general distress. The country as a whole never advanced in wealth more rapidly than during that period.

Viewing the country from 1861 to 1889full twenty-eight years-the longest undisturbed period in which either protection or free trade has been tried in this country, I ask Mr. Gladstone if a parallel can be found to the material advancement of the United

In 1860 the population of the United States was in round numbers 31,000,000. At the same time the population of the United Kingthat the United States added nearly \$30,000, 000,000 to her wealth, while the United Kingdom had added nearly \$15,000,000,000, or about one-half. The United Kingdom had added 6,000,000 to her population during the period of twenty years, while the addition to the United States exceeded 18,000,000. In 1860 the average wealth, per capita, of

he United Kingdom was \$1,000, while in the United States it was but \$450. In 1880 the United Kingdom had increased her per capita wealth to \$1,230, while the United States had increased her per capita wealth to \$870. The United Kingdom had in twenty years in creased her per capita wealth 23 per cent... while the United States had increased her per capita wealth more than 93 per cent. If allowance should be made for war losses, the ratio of gain in the United States would far exceed 100 per cent. HOW PROTECTION HAS LOWERED PRICES.

John Edgar Thompson, late president of the Pennsylvania Railroad company, pur chased 100 tons of steel rails in 1862 at a price (freight paid to New York; duty of 45 per cent, unpaid) of \$103,44 gold coin. (By way of illustrating Mr. Gladstone's claim to superior quality of manufactures under free trade, the railroad company states that nany of the rails broke during the first winder's trial.) In 1870 congress laid a specific duty of \$28 per ton on steel rails. From that time the home market has been held by our own manufacturers, with a steady annual fall in price, as the facilities of production increased. until the past summer and autumn, when steel rails were selling in Pittsburg, Chicago and London at substantially the same prices Does any free trader on either side of the ocean honestly believe that American rails could ever have been furnished as cheaply as English rails, except by the sturdy competition which the highly protective duty of 1870 enabled the American manufacturers to maintain against the foreign manufacturers in the first place, and among American manu facturers themselves in the second place?

English steel for locomotive tires imported in 1865, duty paid, was thirty-four cents per pound in gold. At the present time (1889) American steel for locomotive tires, of as good quality as the English steel formerly imported, is furnished at four and threequarter cents per pound and delivered free of cost at the point where the locomotives are nanufacture:

These illustrations might be indefinitely multiplied. In woolens, in cotton, in leather fabrics, in glass, in products of lead, of brass, of copper; indeed, in the whole round of nanufactures, it will be found that protection has brought down the price from the rate charged by the importers before protection had built up the competing manufacture in America For many articles we pay less than is paid in Europe. If we pay higher for other nings than is paid across the sea today, figures plainly indicate that we pay less than we should have been compelled to pay if the protective system had not been adopted, and beg Mr. Gladstone's attention to the fact that the American people have much more wherewith to pay than they ever had or could have under free trade. UNPARALLELED RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION.

Mr. Gladstone boldly contends that "keepng capital at home by protection is dear proluction, and is a delusion from top to bottom." I take direct issue with him on that proposition. Between 1870 and the present time considerably more than 100,000 miles of railroad have been built in the United States The steel rail and other metal connected there with involved so vast a sum of money that it could not have been raised to send out of the country in gold coin. The total cost could not have been less than \$5,000,000,000. We had a large interest to pay abroad on the public future reference. debt, and for nine years after 1870 gold was at a premium in the United States. During these years nearly 40,000 miles of railway were constructed, and to import English rail and pay for it with gold bought at a large prises would of necessity have been aban doned if the export of gold to pay fe; the rails had been the condition precedent to their rails at home gave an immense stimulus to can't swindle and reb him-elf, can h ?" business. Tens of thousands of men were paid good wages, and great investments and great enrichments followed the line of the new road and opened to the American people large fields for enterprise not theretofore accessible. The grain growers of the west and the cotton growers of the south will observe that Mr. Gladstone holds out to them a cheerful prospect! They "should produce more cereals and more cotton at low prices"! Mr. Gladstone evidently considers the present prices

of cereals and cotton as "high prices." Protectionists owe many thanks to Mr. Gladstone for his outspoken mode of dealing with this question of free trade. He gives us his conclusions without qualification and without disguise. The American free trader is not so sincere. He is ever presenting half truths and holding back the other half, thus creating false impressions and leading to false conclusions. The western farmer's instinct is wiser than Mr. Gladstone's philosophy. The farmer knows that the larger the home market the better are his prices, and that as the home market is narrowed his prices fall.

Mr Gladstone makes another statement of great frankness and of great value. Comparing the pursuits in the United States which require no protection with those that are protected, he says: "No adversary will, I think, venture upon saying that the profits are larger in protected than in unprotected industries." This is very true, and Mr. Gladstone may be surprised to hear that the constant objection made by American free traders against the "protected industries," as he terms them, is that the profits derived from them are illegitimately large.

Mr. Gladstone makes another contention, in which, from the American point of view, he leaves out of sight a controlling factor, on what is not found out about him. and hence refers an effect to the wrong cause. Regarding the advance of wages in England, he says: "Wages which have been partially and relatively higher under protection have become both generally and absolutely higher, and greatly higher, under free trade." I do not doubt the fact, but I venture to suggest that such advance in wages as there has been in England is referable to another and a palpable cause—namely, the higher wages in the

United States, which have constantly tempted British mechanics to emigrate, and which would have tempted many more if the inducement of an advance in wages at home had not been interposed.

ENGLAND EMPLOYS PROTECTION WHERE NEEDED. The zeal of Mr. Gladstone for free trade reaches its highest point in the declaration that "all protection is morally as well as economically bad." There is protection on sea as well as on land. Mr. Gladstone, while chancellor of the exchequer, carried through parliament a bounty of £180,000 to a line of steamers running between England and the United States-a protection that began six years before free trade was proclaimed in English manufactures, and continued nearly twenty years after. In the whole period of twenty-five years an aggregate of many millions of dollars was paid out to protect the English line against all com-

Does not this justify the opinion that the English policy of free trade is urged where England can hold the field against rivals, and that when competition leaves her behind she repudiates free trade and substitutes the most pronounced form of protection?

It will not escape Mr. Gladstone's keen observation that British interests in navigation flourish with less rivalry and have increased in greater proportion than any other of the great interests of the United Kingdom. I ask of 1837 ensued, and business reversals were his candid admission that it is the one interest which England has protected steadily and no relief to the people until the protective | determinedly, regardless of consistency and regardless of expense. Nor will Mr. Gladstone fail to note that navigation is the weakest of the greatest interests in the United States, because it is the one which the national government has constantly refused to protect,

We really feel as much afraid of protection at sea as Mr. Gladstone is of protection on land. The positions of the American congress and the English parliament on this subject are precisely reversed. England has never been affrighted by the word subsidy, and, while we have stood still in impotent fear, she has taken possession of the seas by the judicious, and even the lavish, interposition of pecuniary aid. FARMER AND LABORER GET THE BENEFIT.

Mr. Gladstone feels sure that, though the protected manufacturers in the United States may flourish and prosper, they do so at the expense of the farmer. Both Mr. Gladstone and the American free trader have, then, the duty of explaining why the agricultural states of the west have grown in wealth during the long period of protection at a more rapid rate than the manufacturing states of the east.

In 1860 eight manufacturing states of the east returned an aggregate wealth of \$5,123,-000,000. Twenty years afterwards, by the census of 1880, the same states returned an aggregate wealth of \$16,228,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was slightly more than 216 per cent. In 1360 eight agricultural states of the west (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska and Wisconsin) returned an aggregate wealth of \$2,271,000,000 Twenty years afterwards, by the census of 1880 (protection all the while in full force, these same states returned an aggregate wealth of \$11,268,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 396 per cent.

The case will be equally striking if we take the fifteen southern states. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 80 per cent. Consider that during this period eleven states of the south were impoverished by civil war. And yet, at the end of twenty years, the southern states had repaired all their enormous losses and possessed nearly double the wealth they had ever known before.

It may perhaps surprise Mr Gladstone to be told that out of the fifty largest fortunes rested public attention within the last ten years-certainly not more than one has been derived from protected manufacturing; and this was amassed by a gentleman of the same Scotch blood with Mr Gladstone him self. In no event can the growth of large fortunes be laid to the charge of the protective policy. The benefit of protection goes first and last to the men who earn their bread in the sweat of their faces. The aus picious and momentous result is that never before in the history of the world has com fort been enjoyed, education acquired, and independence secured by so large a propor tion of the total population as in the United States of America. JAMES G. BLAINE

Salvation Oil, the greatest cure on earth for pain as no equal. Persons suffering from thenmatism uralgia or from ents, bruises, sprains, &c should of be without it. Price only two ray five cents. "What is the whole duty of a married man?" isks the new conjugal catechism To be agreeable to his wife and keen Dr. Rull's Cough Syrup o the house for the children when her get a co d f course. Ask us so withing bard

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Select the girl Agree with the girl's father in politics and the mother in religion.

If you have a rival keep an eye on him; f he is a widower keep two eyes on him Don't put to much sweet stuff on p per. If you do you will hear it read in aft r cears, when your wife has some especial urpose in inflicting upon you the severest punishment known to a married man Go be me at a reasonable hour in the evening. Don't wait till the girl has to brow her whole soul into a yawn that she can't cover with both hands. A little hing like that might cause a coolness at he very beginning of the game.

If, on the occasion of your first call, the girl upon whom you have placed your young affection boks like an iceberg and icts liks a cold wave, take your leave early and stay away. Woman in her hour if frieze is uncertain, coy, and hard to In cold weather finish saying good

right in the house. Don't stretch it al! he way to the front gate, and thus lay the foundation for future asthma, bronchitis, neura'gia and chronic catarrh to nelp you to worry the girl to death after she has married. Don't lie about your financial condition.

It is very annoying to a bride who has pictured a life of case in her ancestra nails to learn too late that you expect her to ask a bald headed parent who has been uniformly kind to her to take you out of the cold.

If you sit down on some molasses cany that little Willie has left on the chair while wearing your summer trousers for the first time, smile sweetly and remark hat you don't mind sitting down on moasses candy at all, and that "boys will be boys." Reserve your true feeling for

She: "Oh, Henry, it's very easy to see why you didn't enjoy the Exposition, You wouldn't enter into what was going premium would have been impossible. A on. You wouldn't leave your native very large proportion of the railway enter | prejudices and ideas of life behind you, While you were in Paris you should have lone as the Parisions did" Henry: construction. But the manufacture of steel "Good Heavens, how could I? A man How ABOUT THE HORSES?-If they have beaves, give Weare's Heave Unre. If they have worms, appetite is poor, need a tenic give Weare's Condit ion Powders. Sold by H. C. Pierce.

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